

# **Are You British or Muslim; can you be both?**

**A Monograph  
by  
MAJOR Charles St.Clair  
United States Army**



**School of Advanced Military Studies  
United States Army Command and General Staff College  
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas**

**AY 2009**

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. <b>PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.</b>					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 21-05-2009		2. REPORT TYPE SAMS Monograph		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) July 2008 – May 2009	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Are You British or Muslim; can you be both?				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Major Charles E. St.Clair (U.S. Army)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS) 250 Gibbon Avenue Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2134				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Command and General Staff College 100 Stimson Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-1350				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) SAMS, CGSC	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT <p>Social identity is commonly defined as a person's sense of self. It is derived from a perceived membership in social groups. This monograph examines the impact of Muslim immigrants on the national identity of Great Britain and the difficulty associated with the assimilation of immigrant populations in broader British society because of existing allegiances to their country of origin.</p> <p>Over the last quarter century Muslim immigrants are becoming a larger portion of immigrants to Great Britain. Long before the London bombings in July 2005 Great Britain has struggled to integrate its Muslim immigrant population. Muslim immigrants often remain in enclaves rather than disperse into broader British society. They often feel unwelcome by their "traditional" British neighbors, but also enjoy the familiarity of the ghetto. Conservative British citizens view this segregation as a lack of willingness by Muslims to become part of Great Britain, and are increasingly resistant to demands by immigrants for accommodation. Liberals however, accept the diversity Muslim immigrants bring to British society without regard for support to British common law or the sovereignty of the Crown.</p> <p>The failure to maintain a traditional British identity has reduced the aspiration of immigrants to assimilate into the broader culture and society of their "new" nation. Great Britain is a leading ally of the United States. Changes to British national identity could have serious consequences for American foreign policy. It is the author's assertion that the British government must develop programs that foster an immigrant's allegiance toward the Great Britain through promotion of traditional British national identity.</p>					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Immigration, Identity, Multiculturalism, Assimilation, Great Britain, Islam, Culture, Politics Ideology.					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF: (U)			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT  (U)	18. NUMBER OF PAGES  53	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Stefan J. Banach COL, U.S. Army
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code) 913-758-3302



SCHOOL OF ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES

MONOGRAPH APPROVAL

MAJOR Charles St.Clair

Title of Monograph: Are You British or Muslim; can you be both?

Approved by:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Alice Butler-Smith, Ph.D.

Monograph Director

\_\_\_\_\_  
Thomas Langowski, COL, LG

Monograph Reader

\_\_\_\_\_  
Stefan Banach, COL, IN

Director,  
School of Advanced  
Military Studies

\_\_\_\_\_  
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

Director,  
Graduate Degree Programs

## **ABSTRACT**

**ARE YOU BRITISH OR MUSLIM; CAN YOU BE BOTH?** by MAJOR Charles St.Clair, U.S. Army, 53 pages

Social identity is commonly defined as a person's sense of self. It is derived from a perceived membership in social groups. This monograph examines the impact of Muslim immigrants on the national identity of Great Britain and the difficulty associated with the assimilation of immigrant populations in broader British society because of existing allegiances to their country of origin.

Over the last quarter century Muslim immigrants are becoming a larger portion of immigrants to Great Britain. Long before the London bombings in July 2005 Great Britain has struggled to integrate its Muslim immigrant population. Muslim immigrants often remain in enclaves rather than disperse into broader British society. They often feel unwelcome by their "traditional" British neighbors, but also enjoy the familiarity of the ghetto. Conservative British citizens view this segregation as a lack of willingness by Muslims to become part of Great Britain, and are increasingly resistant to demands by immigrants for accommodation. Liberals however, accept the diversity Muslim immigrants bring to British society without regard for support to British common law or the sovereignty of the Crown.

The failure to maintain a traditional British identity has reduced the aspiration of immigrants to assimilate into the broader culture and society of their "new" nation. Great Britain is a leading ally of the United States. Changes to British national identity could have serious consequences for American foreign policy. It is the author's assertion that the British government must develop programs that foster an immigrant's allegiance toward the Great Britain through promotion of traditional British national identity.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction.....	5
II. Identity .....	12
A. Identity Theory.....	12
B. Great Britain’s National Identity .....	14
C. Personal Identity: Are you British or Muslim; can you be both?.....	18
III. Immigration and Population Trends in Great Britain .....	23
IV. The Clash of Civilizations .....	30
V. Multiculturalism .....	40
A. Multicultural Theory .....	40
B. Diversity and the Inability for Islam to pose a Threat.....	44
VI. Policy Implications.....	48
A. Highlighting Social Commonalities.....	49
B. Offer immigrants something to aspire to be.....	51
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	54

## I. Introduction

What does it mean to be British?<sup>1</sup> After the London Bombings in July 2005 many British citizens tried to answer this question with widely varying results. Trevor Phillips of the Commission for Racial Equality, for example, lists “some common values” - democracy, the English language, Shakespeare. But this does little to answer the question of a British identity. The Telegraph newspaper and YouGov.com set up a poll and their top answers included freedom of speech, the history of Great Britain, the nation’s geography and landscape, the justice and legal system, the British government, a strong economy, the Monarchy, and fairness and equality<sup>2</sup> as the most important aspects of “Britishness.” An editor of The Daily Telegraph identified “the rule of law, the sovereignty of the Crown in Parliament, the pluralist state, personal freedom, private property, institutions, the family, history, the English-speaking world, and the British character”<sup>3</sup> as the “ten core values” of British identity. Even before 2005 there has been a debate in Great Britain about the increasing number of immigrants in the country and the assimilation of immigrants, particularly Muslim immigrants, into Great Britain’s (multicultural) society.

Overall, Great Britain currently exhibits a birth rate too low to support either the maintenance or the expansion of its population.<sup>4</sup> To offset this phenomenon the government has

---

<sup>1</sup> Anthony King, “What does it mean to be British?” *Daily Telegraph*, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4196988/What-does-it-mean-to-be-British.html> (accessed April 18, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> YouGov.com, “Britishness” *Daily Telegraph*, <http://www.yougov.co.uk/corporate/archives/press-archives-social-Main.asp?dID=2005> (accessed April 18, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Telegraph View, “Ten core values of the British identity,” *Daily Telegraph*, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/telegraph-view/3618632/Ten-core-values-of-the-British-identity.html> (accessed April 18, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Iris Hossmann, *Europe’s Demographic Future: Growing Imbalances* (Berlin, Germany: Berlin Institute, 2008), 3-11.

relied on immigration to augment requirements for labor and to expand the nation's population.<sup>5</sup> Over the last quarter century, Muslim immigrants to Great Britain represent a larger, and growing, portion of the immigrant population than in previous periods.<sup>6</sup> Immigrants come with allegiances to their families, tribe or cultural community, and their country of origin. Some of the questions faced by the British government are: How do immigrants develop and maintain a sense of national identity and allegiance to their "new" national citizenship? How does a liberal, democratic government assimilate immigrants into their broader culture and society over the long term? What does it take to assimilate immigrants from residents living within the country to citizens who feel a sense of attachment to the larger community of the nation?

This monograph focuses on the impact of Muslim immigrants on the national identity of Great Britain. The author will examine the principles of identity theory as they apply to national identity in Great Britain. To develop the personal and social identity affected by immigration Chapter II of the monograph will begin with a discussion of identity theory. Chapter II, Identity, will introduce a definition of identity; examine the national identity of Great Britain and the personal and social identity conflicts for British Muslims. Many Muslims believe that the highest level of their personal and social identity is to the *ummah*, the worldwide community of faithful Muslims. In fact some Muslim groups believe that nationalism can be an enemy to Islam because it detracts from the attraction to and unity of the *ummah*.<sup>7</sup> To preclude social unrest within Great Britain the government must assimilate its Muslim immigrants into British society.

---

<sup>5</sup> United Nations. *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* (New York, NY: United Nations, 2000), 97-99.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Dickens and Abigail McKnight, *Assimilation of Migrants into the British Labour Market* (London, England: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, 2008), 3-4, 22

<sup>7</sup> Douglas J. Macdonald, *The New Totalitarians: Social Identities and Radical Islamist Political Grand Strategy* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2007), 23.



Increased immigration coupled with higher birth rates among immigrant populations in Great Britain will result in changes to the demographic structure of the nation.<sup>8</sup> The overall influence of these two trends will become increasingly evident in the social and political spheres. As these trends continue, the question emerges, will Great Britain lose its traditional identity and is its government vulnerable to political ideological changes from immigrant populations? As insurgencies develop over time they often grow from small political organizations to massive, possibly violent, elements bent upon the destruction of existing political structures. To preclude large-scale social instability, the British government must develop institutions and structures to balance the competing demands of its citizenry.<sup>9</sup>

As one of America's closest allies the difficulty Great Britain encounters identifying the goals, desires, and interests of its people could have enormous consequences for American foreign policy. Changes to the British national identity could take years to develop and manifest themselves, but are no less important considerations for American, and British, politicians. American influence world-wide is enhanced by its allies and the loss of British support may hinder America's ability to act in a leading role in world affairs. Recent violent conflict involving Muslim immigrant populations in Holland, France, Spain, and Great Britain highlight the status of relations between native and immigrant populations.<sup>10</sup> A continued failure by the British government to assert its traditional national identity, legal status, and authority over immigrants

---

<sup>8</sup> Hossmann, 3-11; and United Nations, 97-99.

<sup>9</sup> Warren P. Gunderman, *From Containment to Integration: A Grand Strategy for the 21st Century* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2006), 1.

<sup>10</sup> European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, *Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia*, printed by (Vienna, Austria: Manz Crossmedia GmbH & Co KG, 2006). The publication of, and reaction to, the cartoons of the prophet Mohammed and the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh; Muslim youth rioting in France in 2005, 2006 and 2007; the Madrid train bombing in 2004 as well as continuing conflict in Great Britain involving radical organizations like Hizb ut-Tahrir are cited as examples of unrest in Western European nations.

will result in a change of the nation's identity as well as its government by predominantly non-violent means.

Chapter III of this monograph examines immigration and population trends in Great Britain. The research presented will highlight: changes to Great Britain's immigration trends, tension in broader British society between immigrants and native citizens, and the assimilation of immigrants to British society versus the tendency for immigrants to remain loyal to their ethnic, national or religious roots. Each of these topics is influenced by the process of globalization and its far-reaching effects into a nation's social fabric. Collectively, multiple, small factors may coalesce to bring about dramatic change in British society and government as described by Malcolm Gladwell in his book, *The Tipping Point*.<sup>11</sup> What is sought, rather, is the identification of superordinate goals<sup>12</sup> to satisfy conflicting demands of different social groups in Great Britain.

The influence of globalization along with the tendency for Great Britain's liberal democracy to embrace tolerance and social diversity has led to a blurring of the traditional national identity.<sup>13</sup> The failure to maintain a traditional British national identity has reduced the aspiration of immigrants to assimilate into the broader culture and society of their "new" nation.<sup>14</sup> Immigrants are instead choosing to remain loyal to their ethnic, national and religious roots. The failure to assimilate immigrants can polarize society and lead to increased social unrest and violent internal conflict.

---

<sup>11</sup> Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension: An Integration of Studies on Intergroup Relations* (New York, NY: Harper, 1953).

<sup>13</sup> Sheila L. Croucher, *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Mark Steyn, *America Alone: The End of the World as We Know It* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing Inc, 2006), 90. Steyn's thesis is that the high levels of immigration from predominantly Muslim countries are negatively changing the social and political establishments in Europe.

Central to the debate is Great Britain's policy of multiculturalism which advocates and encourages the integration of people of different countries, ethnic groups, and religions into all areas of society.<sup>15</sup> Liam Byrne, the Member of Parliament Birmingham Hodge Hill, has stated that the "shared standards are the glue that keeps diverse societies together."<sup>16</sup> Yet Trevor Phillips, chairman of Great Britain's Commission for Racial Equality, once a supporter of multiculturalism now opposes the concept. Mr. Phillips believes that multiculturalism encouraged "separateness" between communities<sup>17</sup> and led to a British society that is too concerned with embracing diversity that it is afraid to examine division between people.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile many Britons find it difficult to explain what it means to be British. As journalist Mick Hume stated "each attempt to define ["Britishness"] confirms the lack of any substantial shared meaning."<sup>19</sup>

Figure 1 below will be used throughout this monograph to illustrate multiculturalism. As an example the author will use the different conceptions of identity as they relate to an individual's perception of their personal and social identity as being British, Pakistani or of Pakistani decent, and that of being a Muslim. Simplistically each of these identities is distinctly different. However there will be attributes from each identity which are common to the others. At

---

<sup>15</sup> Encarta Dictionary, "Multicultural," *MSN.com*, [http://encarta.msn.com/dictionary\\_/multiculturalism.html](http://encarta.msn.com/dictionary_/multiculturalism.html) (accessed: April 10, 2009).

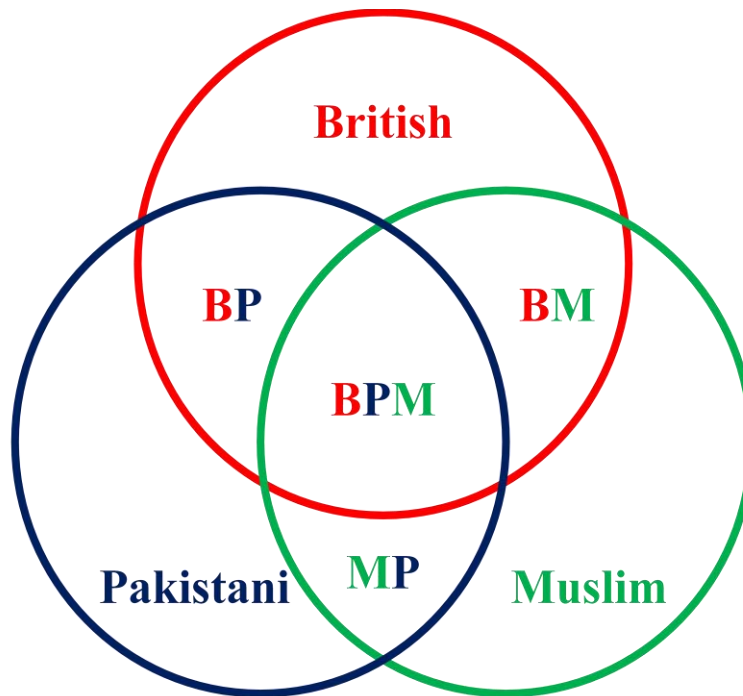
<sup>16</sup> Liam Byrne, "Think tank: Binding Britain together," *The Times OnLine*, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/article4748484.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Tom Baldwin and Gabriel Rozenberg, "Britain 'must scrap multiculturalism'," *The Times OnLine*, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article1055221.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> BBC News, "Muslims 'must accept' free speech," *BBC News*, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/4752804.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4752804.stm) (accessed April 10, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Mick Hume, "There's no point asking Blunkett what it means to be British. He's forgotten too," *The Times OnLine*, [http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/mick\\_hume/article821455.ece](http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/mick_hume/article821455.ece) (accessed March 20, 2009).

overlap of all three circles would be an individual who identifies themselves as a British citizen of Pakistani decent who is a practicing Muslim.



**Figure 1:** Different cultural identities often share attributes. Attributes from multiple cultural identities can combine to create a broader social identity.

Chapter IV will describe the conservative<sup>20</sup> point of view of the negative effects of immigration. Referring to the example in Figure 1, a British conservative this would place the highest importance to that of being a British citizen (British). Understood too are the portions of overlap between the three identities: first, a Briton of Pakistani decent (BP), second, a Briton who practices Islam (BM), or third, a British citizen of Pakistani decent who is a practicing Muslim (BPM). From a British conservative perspective these portions of the multicultural identity cannot

---

<sup>20</sup> For the purposes of this monograph the term Conservative is defined as persons or groups who seek to preserve the customs and institutions of the nation, limit immigration and reject social change.

be ignored nor should they have precedence by individuals who are of Pakistani decent, practicing Muslims, or both.

Chapter V, on the other hand, will describe the liberal<sup>21</sup> (multicultural) point of view and the benefits of immigration on Great Britain's national identity. Again using the example in Figure 1, a liberal places the highest importance to the portions of the figure where there is no overlap (British, Pakistani, Muslim). It is within these areas that supporters of multiculturalism will find the diversity of British society. Multicultural supporters are happy to celebrate and embrace the diversity of British society at the expense of the common areas because they (may) constitute a larger whole than either the overlap of identities or that of any one of the three alone. A liberal would welcome increased immigration, especially from multiple sources, because it provides greater opportunity for diversity of British society.

In Chapter VI the author will examine policy implications and present two themes for national immigration and social policy. The recommended programs will enhance the assimilation of immigrant populations and maintain the traditional national identity for Great Britain. In order for the British government to ensure continued internal stability it must develop programs that foster an immigrant's allegiance toward the nation through promotion of traditional British national identity.<sup>22</sup> It is the author's assertion that the failure of the British government to assert its traditional national identity coupled with a failure to develop programs to assimilate immigrants will result in further social unrest and internal conflict through the use of existing political institutions and structures, challenging the British national identity.

---

<sup>21</sup> For the purposes of this monograph the term Liberal is defined as persons or groups who welcome multiculturalism, social diversity, and social change.

<sup>22</sup> Gunderman, 1.

## II. Identity

### A. Identity Theory

Social identity is commonly defined as a person's sense of self. It is derived from a perceived membership in social groups.<sup>23</sup> The collective attachment of individual citizens to each other, progressively larger social groups, and their nation combine to result in a sense of national community.<sup>24</sup> The policies and actions of governments influence the allegiance citizens have to the nation. It is the duty of a nation's government to reinforce the collective sense of national community by developing programs which support patriotism, a genuine love of country.<sup>25</sup>

Social identity can be separated into numerous levels: personal, local community, and national.<sup>26</sup> Each of these levels has different meaning as well as levels of importance to each individual. It is at the national level where a group of people see themselves as belonging to, and are tied together by, their common ties to a nation state, its borders, laws, and traditions.<sup>27</sup> Within the study of identity there are three factors considered fundamental for the motivation of identification among individuals. First, individuals must perceive themselves or be recognized by others as members of different groups. Second, individuals must learn the different norms, attitudes, or behaviors that distinguish separate groups. And third, individuals must attribute the

---

<sup>23</sup> Yan Chen and Xin Li, *Group Identity and Social Preferences* (Dallas, TX: University of Texas, 2006), 2.

<sup>24</sup> Stanley A. Renshon, *The 50 percent American: Immigration and National Identity in an Age of Terror* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2005), 2. Although it examines American identity Renshon's work focuses on the dilemmas of, and conflicts created by, social diversity.

<sup>25</sup> Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Macdonald, 30.

<sup>27</sup> Renshon, 71.

characteristics of a group to themselves.<sup>28</sup> Within multiple, competing characteristics to choose from it is easy to see that identity is not static, nor immune to pressure from new groups. Identity can be influenced and, over time, they can change for each person or group. Certainly, personal and group identities are influenced by routine, daily events at work and home as well as events that occur around the world. This flexibility<sup>29</sup> is what national governments must influence through the commitment of resources and civic programs to influence citizens to develop a collective, national identity and allegiance to the nation. The programs, like the identities they seek to influence, must adapt to changes in national attitudes. Programs for immigrant populations must initially provide a sense of welcoming, a general respect and appreciation for an immigrant's beliefs,<sup>30</sup> but the long-term focus of these programs is to change the immigrant's sense of identity to one which cherishes the "new" nation's identity greater than other personal identities from their country of origin.<sup>31</sup>

The influence toward a new personal or social identity is not necessarily a turn against the country of origin's national identity, but an adaptation toward the "new" nation and its common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, and institutions.<sup>32</sup> Influencing the personal identity as well as the social allegiance of immigrants supports a nation's long-term internal stability because emotional attachment and identification are mechanisms that

---

<sup>28</sup> Kendra N. McLeish and Robert J. Oxoby, *Identity, Cooperation, and Punishment* (Bonn, Germany: Institute for the Study of Labor, 2007), 5.

<sup>29</sup> Macdonald, 29.

<sup>30</sup> Renshon, 87.

<sup>31</sup> Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism."

<sup>32</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, NY: Simon and Shuster, 1996), 43.

underlie sacrifice, empathy, and service.<sup>33</sup> It is the long-term process of assimilation which provides this stability. Milton M. Gordon's theory of the stages of assimilation indicates that assimilation can be understood as a process in which language, customs and institutions of the "new" nation are internalized by immigrants.<sup>34</sup> The final result of this process is a disintegration of the immigrant's attachment to their country of origin's identity and the complete acceptance of the immigrants by their new nation where they are viewed as an indistinguishable part of society. Assimilation is a process which involves acceptance by natural as well as immigrant populations. In the context of British Muslims, and indeed Muslim communities throughout the West, many have challenged the likelihood of this outcome<sup>35</sup> because the identity of the "new" nation, Great Britain, is not sufficiently powerful to over-ride the identity with Islam.<sup>36</sup>

## **B. Great Britain's National Identity**

"There's no point asking Blunkett what it means to be British. He's forgotten too."<sup>37</sup>  
- Mick Hume, reporter for The Times

The national identity of Great Britain has eroded due to numerous influences. The influence of multiculturalism, and its emphasis for differences between groups, certainly cannot be ignored. While preaching acceptance of others, it fails to assert "traditional" identity over that

---

<sup>33</sup> Bruce Fein, "Dual Citizenship Folly." *The Washington Times*, March 1, 2005, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2005/feb/28/20050228-084038-7711r/> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>34</sup> Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

<sup>35</sup> Humayun Ansari, *The Infidel Within - Muslims in Britain since 1800* (London, England: Hurst and Company, 2004), 209.

<sup>36</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, 90.

<sup>37</sup> Hume.



of others. Rather than stressing the commonalities among groups, multiculturalism has perpetuated division and separation of groups. Muslim immigrants are not willing to accept the superiority of the traditional, national identity of Great Britain to that of being Muslim. The problem of cohesion is an obvious result of the failure to maintain the integrity of group boundaries.<sup>38</sup> While Muslims are encouraged to assimilate to British identity, they cannot understand what that identity is or means, or why it is better than a Muslim identity. Shallow national attachment results in subtle conflict, in which Muslim immigrants favor positions that are not necessarily in Great Britain's best interests but certainly are in the interest of the *ummah*.<sup>39</sup>

Within the last decade many European governments, including Great Britain's, have begun to identify Islam to be opposed to new (Western) ideas. The concept of multiculturalism, with its acceptance for diversity, is often criticized. Conservative Britons see their traditional culture adapting and accepting Islam while at the same time Muslims do not adapt or accept British culture.<sup>40</sup> Research by the Policy Exchange, a think tank in Great Britain, indicates that this perception is not entirely inaccurate. Younger Muslims "feel that they have less in common with non-Muslims than do their parents and they show a stronger preference for Islamic schools and *Sharia* law."<sup>41</sup> But identification within their own community is not exclusive to Muslims, Munira Mirza has found that a "similar impulse lies behind the resurgence of Scottishness, and

---

<sup>38</sup> J. T. Borhek, "Ethnic-Group Cohesion," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 76, No. 1, (1970): 33.

<sup>39</sup> Renshon, 27.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Bremner, "Stoned to death... why Europe is starting to lose its faith in Islam," *The Times OnLine*, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article398782.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).

<sup>41</sup> Munira Mirza, Abi Senthilkumaran and Zein Ja'far, *Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism*, (London, England, Policy Exchange, 2007), 5-7.

even Englishness” which she attributes to the encouragement of ethnic-minority groups to believe they are in need of special recognition.<sup>42</sup>

For political scientists, borders reflect the nature of power relations and the ability of one group to determine, superimpose and perpetuate lines of separation, or to remove them, contingent upon the political environment at any given time.<sup>43</sup> In the expanding European Union national borders are being transformed from barriers and lines of separation to allow for recognition of a greater area of inclusion.<sup>44</sup> It remains to be seen if all citizens within the EU will accept a European identity instead of their national identity. Mainul Islam, a brigadier general in the Bangladesh Army, asserts that a sense of belonging is part of people's sense of security, and one that most people would not want to give up, even in the age of globalization.<sup>45</sup> Thus, conflict will remain regarding the replacement of national belonging with universal brotherhood.<sup>46</sup>

Citizenship is a legal construct which relates to the rights and responsibilities of an individual within a state.<sup>47</sup> According to Kylie Baxter, a researcher at Monash University's School of Political and Social Inquiry in Melbourne, Australia, it is the responsibility of the State to define the nation's identity.”<sup>48</sup> It is through the practice of political sovereignty that citizens

---

<sup>42</sup> Munira Mirza, “Being Muslim is not a barrier to being British,” *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/feb/02/comment.religion> (accessed March 20, 2009).

<sup>43</sup> David Newman, “The Lines that Continue to Separate Us: Borders in a “Borderless” World,” *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2006): 147.

<sup>44</sup> Newman, 144.

<sup>45</sup> Mainul Islam, *Globalization and State Sovereignty* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2003), iii.

<sup>46</sup> Renshon, 133.

<sup>47</sup> Kylie Baxter, “From Migrants to Citizens: Muslims in Britain 1950s–1990s,” *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 24, No. 2, (2006): 167.

<sup>48</sup> Islam, iii.

practice their democratic rights to determine the character of their society.<sup>49</sup> From a legal standpoint borders play a critical role in the development and maintenance of national identity.<sup>50</sup> Saied Reza Ameli, Director of the Institute for North American and European Studies at the University of Tehran, suggests that traditional British identity is based not on unity, but on a sense of “distinctness in relation to others.” The development and adoption of a ‘British’ identity by Muslim immigrants must overcome any negative considerations for themselves.<sup>51</sup>

Within the context of social identity the statement by former President Bill Clinton, “Our primary allegiance is to the values [our nation] stands for and values we really live by”<sup>52</sup> indicate a higher, collective identification for people of a nation. Likewise, perpetuation of Great Britain’s national identity is one which results from the traditions of that nation’s history and the collective, social understanding of self. As stated earlier identities change over time, very often due to influences from immigrant populations. However, opening borders to immigrants does not immediately result in dissolution of ethnic and national identity.<sup>53</sup> Rather, it is the adoption and exchange of ideas, values, and norms of many cultures which produced the current identity of Great Britain.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> George Gigauri, *Resolving the Liberal Paradox: Citizen Rights and Alien Rights in the United Kingdom* (Oxford, England: University of Oxford, 2006), 28.

<sup>50</sup> Renshon, 130.

<sup>51</sup> Saied Reza Ameli, *Globalization, Americanization and British Muslim Identity* (London, England: Islamic College for Advanced Studies Press, 2002), 185.

<sup>52</sup> William J. Clinton, “Remarks to the University of California San Diego Commencement Ceremony in La Jolla, California.” The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsby.edu/ws/index.php?pid=54268&st=&st1=> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>53</sup> Newman, 147.

<sup>54</sup> Chen and Li, 2; and McLeish and Oxoby, 5.

### C. Personal Identity: Are you British or Muslim; can you be both?

"Every day I live as a British person I am proud to be British. This is a country I am extremely proud of. I am privileged to belong to it. I think there is no better country for Muslims to live in."

- Shaykh Ibrahim Mogra, of the Muslim Council of Britain's inter-faith relations committee<sup>55</sup>

A 2006 study by the PewResearchCenter's Global Attitudes Project revealed that 81 percent of British Muslims identify themselves as Muslims first while only seven percent consider themselves to be British first.<sup>56</sup> The study further recognizes the differences of attitude toward assimilation between Muslim and non-Muslim Britons. British Muslims were nearly twice as likely to say they wished to adopt the national customs of Great Britain as non-Muslims Britons were to say they would (41 percent vs. 22 percent).<sup>57</sup> Efforts by the British government to influence the aspiration and assimilation of Muslim immigrants and citizens must influence these opinions.

The process of changing personal or social identity is not an easy one. The national identities of native citizens in Great Britain are threatened by the growing influence of Muslim immigrants. Muslim immigrants also feel threatened by the possibility of their own identity being changed by non-Muslim influences. George Gigauri, a Project Development Officer at the International Organization for Migration, asserts that Great Britain's "political sovereignty is

---

<sup>55</sup> Lucy Rodgers, "What does it mean to be British?" BBC News. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6723325.stm> (accessed April 18, 2009)

<sup>56</sup> The Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries Top Concerns About Religious and Cultural Identity*, (Washington, D.C.: PewResearchCenter, 2006), 4.

<sup>57</sup> The Pew Global Attitudes Project, 8.

being curtailed by an expansion of [immigrant] rights.”<sup>58</sup> Yet the ‘design’ of Western liberal democracies enables immigrants to leverage the structure and institutions of the government to create changes which favor their agenda and not necessarily that of the majority group. Gigauri believes that the “Liberal Paradox is not an impediment to democracy, but rather a compliment to it.”<sup>59</sup>

Looking at the American context, Stanley Renshon, a professor of political science at City University of New York, argued that what it means to be a citizen of a country holds enormous implications for the integrity of national civic and cultural traditions.<sup>60</sup> National identity in Europe has weakened in the past half century. European governments and their citizens increasingly stress “the responsibilities as well as the rights”<sup>61</sup> of immigrants. In the search for ways to foster assimilation Great Britain has tried to develop a program that will develop a sense of British identity among immigrant populations which, at the same time, does not offend the Muslim identity of these same people. Identification as “British” is stronger among older Muslim immigrants than among younger (second or third generation) Muslims. But overall, most British Muslims feel they have more in common with non-Muslim Britons than they do with non-British Muslims.<sup>62</sup> The increased specter of international terrorism after September 11, 2001 has intensified assimilation efforts and represents a long-range counter-terrorism strategy.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> George Gigauri, *Resolving the Liberal Paradox: Citizen Rights and Alien Rights in the United Kingdom* (Oxford, England: University of Oxford, 2006), 4.

<sup>59</sup> Gigauri, 4.

<sup>60</sup> Renshon, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Patrick Weil, quoted in Robert S. Leiken, *Europe's Mujahideen: Where Mass Immigration Meets Global Terrorism* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2005), 11.

<sup>62</sup> Mirza, Senthilkumaran and Ja'far, 5-7.

<sup>63</sup> Leiken, *Europe's Mujahideen*, 11.

Many of the current programs for immigrants are potentially re-creations of previous civic programs which were cut in the 1980s when Great Britain reduced state funding from numerous social programs.<sup>64</sup> The loss of community groups and activities created a vacuum which, in Muslim communities, was filled by various religious groups, both domestic and international;<sup>65</sup> and, at the same time, state support for multiculturalism enabled disparate groups of Muslims to develop, but they were collectively misunderstood as part of a monolithic Muslim identity and a reflection of unity, not diversity among Muslims. Concurrently, multiculturalism was popularly understood not as plurality of coexisting cultures but rather as the willingness of an Anglo-Saxon state to accept the presence of other cultures.<sup>66</sup> Current perspectives of Muslim and non-Muslim communities continue to exhibit a traditional us-and-them characteristic partly because Muslims are not leaving their own neighborhoods nor are they moving into the mainstream economy in any significant number.<sup>67</sup> Defending the position of Muslim immigrants Humayun Ansari, the Director of the Centre for Ethnic Minority Studies, points out, “religion conceals a great deal of diversity and is interlocked with other, secular forms of identity; it can still be viewed as increasingly relevant to the communal identity and self-understanding of Muslims in Britain.”<sup>68</sup> The question remains whether the primary identity is Muslim or [British] nationalist.<sup>69</sup> For example, teenagers in many cities in Great Britain have a choice between two

---

<sup>64</sup> Kylie Baxter, “From Migrants to Citizens: Muslims in Britain 1950s–1990s,” *Immigrants & Minorities*, (2006): 169-177.

<sup>65</sup> Baxter, 172.

<sup>66</sup> Baxter, 172.

<sup>67</sup> Robert A. Levine, *Assimilating Immigrants: Why America Can and France Cannot* (Arlington, VA: RAND Europe, 2004), 16.

<sup>68</sup> Ansari, 211.

<sup>69</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, 32.

identities - a robust confident Muslim identity or a tentative post-nationalist cringingly apologetic [British] identity.<sup>70</sup> What choice are they likely to make?

While many people of all races support better race relations there remain significant differences as to how they can best be accomplished.<sup>71</sup> Conservatives will often assert the responsibility for change to belong to the immigrant population. Liberals often support change from the native populations. Native citizens and immigrants have differing opinions on how much ‘give-and-take’ should be engaged by either side. France, for example, has been the European country most open to immigration but the most insistent on assimilation.<sup>72</sup>

The single, most powerful predictor of cohesion is formal education.<sup>73</sup> Because the Muslim immigrants often stay within their own enclave, the schools in numerous Muslim communities in Great Britain have programs which are based on Islam and the Koran and are devoid of teaching “traditional British history and culture.”<sup>74</sup> The existence of separate schools perpetuates the separation of Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Further hindering assimilation and damaging relations is the fact that Muslims are not moving outside their own communities into the mainstream economy.<sup>75</sup> This factor hinders assimilation into broader British society and runs counter to J. T. Borhek’s analysis which indicated that residence in an ethnically heterogeneous community reduces preference for one’s own social group.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, 90.

<sup>71</sup> Renshon, 83.

<sup>72</sup> William Pfaff, “Why France Still Insists on Cultural Assimilation: Head Scarves,” *International Herald Tribune*, January 17, 2004.

<sup>73</sup> Borhek, 44.

<sup>74</sup> Melanie Phillips, *Londonistan* (London, England: Encounter Books, 2006), ), xx, 62-63.

<sup>75</sup> Levine, 16.

<sup>76</sup> Borhek, 44.





### III. Immigration and Population Trends in Great Britain

“The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against preventable evils. In seeking to do so, it encounters obstacles which are deeply rooted in human nature.

One is that by the very order of things such evils are not demonstrable until they have occurred: at each stage in their onset there is room for doubt and for dispute whether they be real or imaginary. By the same token, they attract little attention in comparison with current troubles, which are both indisputable and pressing: whence the besetting temptation of all politics to concern itself with the immediate present at the expense of the future.”<sup>77</sup>

- Enoch Powell, Conservative Party Member of Parliament

Since the end of the post-World War II ‘baby boom’ the birthrate in Great Britain has declined. It is currently at, or just below, the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman.<sup>78</sup> With modest levels of immigration the nation’s population is expected to continue to increase. The overall effect is expected to be an aging of the population, particularly among the native population, while the age profile for immigrants is expected to remain young.<sup>79</sup> This could lead to what Ben J. Wattenberg describes in his book *The Birth Dearth: What Happens When People in Free Countries Don’t Have Enough Babies?* as a “slow-motion demographic suicide.”<sup>80</sup> As the effects of the nation’s changing demographics continue to mature the specific issues of assimilation of immigrants as well as the character of a nation’s identification will become more

---

<sup>77</sup> Enoch Powell, “Enoch Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech,” *The Telegraph*, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html> (accessed March 22, 2009).

<sup>78</sup> Hossmann, 3-11.

<sup>79</sup> Hossmann, 3-11.

<sup>80</sup> Michael S. Teitelbaum, “Western Experiences with International Migration in the Context of Population Decline,” *The Japanese Journal of Population*, Vol.2, No.1 (2004), 30.

acute.<sup>81</sup> For the liberal, democratic government of Great Britain, balancing the demands and interests of a changing population will remain a complex problem.<sup>82</sup>

Studies by the United Nations and the Berlin Institute have tried to examine some large scale effects of immigration but they did not examine changes to national culture and identity. Cultural conservatives, persons who seek to preserve the customs and institutions of the nation, limit immigration and reject social change, tend to view immigrants with fear or contempt. Cultural conservatives use the fact that people tend to emigrate away from economically weak countries<sup>83</sup> or they focus on the fact that immigrants tend to be concentrated at the top and bottom of the educational ladder<sup>84</sup> and often portray immigrants as taking advantage of the opportunities of a strong economy. The United Nations' report, *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?*, was often portrayed by conservative news media as a report with dire political consequences for European nations. These news stories focused on existing conditions of the late-1990s rather than the report's conclusions. This skewing of information may owe to the protective nature of the conservative's agenda, which favors the inhibition of immigration. Liberals, people who welcome multiculturalism, social diversity, and social change, on the other hand, point to the projection of net economic gains for the nation yet ignored challenges and obstacles identified by the United Nations' report. Additionally, liberals have pointed to the negative ramifications in the report for immigrants only, such as job displacement

---

<sup>81</sup> Renshon, xix.

<sup>82</sup> Peter Brimelow, "A Prescription for Immigration," in *Blueprints for An Ideal Legal Immigration Policy*, Richard D. Lamm and Alan Simpson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2001), 28.

<sup>83</sup> Hossmann, 13.

<sup>84</sup> Susan F. Martin, "Setting Priorities in Immigration Policy," in *Blueprints for An Ideal Legal Immigration Policy*, Richard D. Lamm and Alan Simpson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2001), 59.

of existing immigrants,<sup>85</sup> or the effects of high tax rates and the limitation it puts on highly educated immigrants.<sup>86</sup>

Predominantly, Britain's immigrant population originates from nations that are former Commonwealth countries and tend to maintain ties to their country of origin. Muslim immigrants to Great Britain tend to be indigent. If they are able to find employment they often experience a significant pay gap, compared to their native counterparts.<sup>87</sup> Great Britain's laws regarding asylum seekers are different than those for immigrants and have changed drastically over the past four decades. This has enabled many individuals who might not otherwise qualify for immigrations to remain in Britain. For Mark Steyn the "dependence on immigration from very limited and particular sources is not a strength, but a weakness."<sup>88</sup> Further complicating efforts to integrate Muslims immigrants into British society is the tendency for European Muslims to remain in enclaves or ghettos rather than disperse into the broader society.<sup>89</sup>

Over the last quarter century, immigrants to Great Britain increasingly came from Africa and Central Asia, expanding the diversity of the British population.<sup>90</sup> Along with this diversity has been a dramatic change in the degree of ideological polarization within British society.<sup>91</sup> Throughout the period, the importance of religion as part of Great Britain's national identity

---

<sup>85</sup> Martin, 59.

<sup>86</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, 12.

<sup>87</sup> Dickens and McKnight, iii.

<sup>88</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, 41.

<sup>89</sup> Leiken, *Europe's Mujahideen*, 4-5.

<sup>90</sup> Dickens and McKnight, 3-4, 22.

<sup>91</sup> Russell J. Dalton, *Social Modernization and the End of Ideology Debate: Patterns of Ideological Polarization*, (prepared for the conference on "Beliefs, Norms and Values in Cross-national Surveys", University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan, December 2004), 1.

has fallen.<sup>92</sup> In his book *The End of Ideology*<sup>93</sup> Daniel Bell, a Harvard sociology professor, described how modern (Western) societies were steadily becoming more secular. Secularism, however, conflicts with Islam. For Muslims there is not a separation between religion and politics.

For Great Britain's native population the increasing Muslim immigrant community offers a challenge to social cohesion. During the 1990s the public began to grow uneasy about what they perceived as the government's failure to regulate the arrival of immigrants as well as a failure to integrate them into British society. The failure of the British government to intervene after calls for Salman Rushdie's death when he wrote *The Satanic Verses*, or the furor over the cartoons of the prophet Mohammed are just two examples of this behavior. Many cultural conservatives see their new neighbors as unwilling to adapt or assimilate to British culture. Some view the Muslim immigrants as attempting to undermine British culture and trying to force it to adapt to them.<sup>94</sup> Yet restriction of immigrants alone may not provide the protection some 'traditional' British citizens' desire. Included must be programs to assimilate resident Muslim populations, the second and third generation native-born citizens.<sup>95</sup>

The topic of immigration has been taboo in Great Britain after conservative Member of Parliament Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech<sup>96</sup> in 1968 where he made warned of the

---

<sup>92</sup> Dalton, 4.

<sup>93</sup> Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology; On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*, (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960).

<sup>94</sup> Leiken, *Europe's Mujahideen*, 3-4; and Phillips, 27-29.

<sup>95</sup> Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1964), 70-71.

<sup>96</sup> Powell.

problems arising from unchecked immigration.<sup>97</sup> The speech was interpreted by many liberals to be a display of racial prejudice, which became a feared topic in British politics.<sup>98</sup> Despite this warning it is useful to think of immigration policy as a formula that gives points to applicants on the basis of various characteristics, and that sets a passing grade to limit the number of entrants, as suggested in “Immigration Policy: A Proposal” by Harvard University professor of economics and social policy George J. Borjas in *Blueprints for An Ideal Legal Immigration Policy*.<sup>99</sup> An effective immigration policy must consider the competing desires of its diverse, native population. For example, Jürgen Habermas, a German philosopher and sociologist, claims that, although it is illegitimate for a democratic nation to limit immigration according to specific personal traits, it is legitimate for such a polity to exclude individuals who do not share its constitutional principles. Also the government can demand of those who aspire to immigrate to adapt to the nation’s “particular interpretation of liberal democratic norms and values.”<sup>100</sup> Thus we can see that while it is probably impossible to develop an immigration policy upon which everyone will agree, it remains a duty of the government to attempt to develop such a program. The foundation in the development of a viable immigration policy is to determine the purpose of the program and what it is the government wishes to achieve through its immigration policy.<sup>101</sup> The framing provided by the purpose ‘statement’ provides a basis to develop the laws which will bind the program.

---

<sup>97</sup> Phillips, 19-20.

<sup>98</sup> Phillips, 19-20.

<sup>99</sup> George J. Borjas, “Immigration Policy: A Proposal” in *Blueprints for An Ideal Legal Immigration Policy*, Richard D. Lamm and Alan Simpson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2001), 17.

<sup>100</sup> Jürgen Habermas, Ciaran Cronin, and Pablo De Greiff. “Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic State,” in *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 225.

<sup>101</sup> Borjas, 17.

Over the last century Great Britain has adapted its laws to reflect the changing reality of the British Empire as well as the changing desires of its citizens. The 1914 British Nationality and Aliens Act offered individuals born throughout the Empire the status of British subject. The law can be considered an attempt by the British government to develop a broad empire-wide identity that would outweigh the influence of local or regional identities; people born in the lands of the Commonwealth were citizens as opposed to subjects and thought to hold more allegiance to the Crown.<sup>102</sup> This decision was met with some resistance by natives of Britain who felt shared tradition, culture, history, and language were essential facets of citizenship.<sup>103</sup> Prior to 1962 there were very few restrictions to immigration from Commonwealth state to Great Britain. In 1962 the Commonwealth Immigration Act was passed. It limited immigration previously aimed at fulfilling unskilled labor needs. Since that time additional laws restricting immigration have been passed.<sup>104</sup> Some laws, like the Race Relations Act of 1976, were designed to restrict immigration of specific populations. The British government's decision not to recognize Muslims as a distinct community means they do not enjoy protection against religious or cultural discrimination like Jewish and Sikh immigrants.<sup>105</sup>

Although it is a member of the European Union Great Britain has limited its participation in several legal statutes in order to maintain control over its immigration policy. Specifically, this can be seen in the British government's position on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights where Great Britain "reserves the right to continue to apply such immigration legislation governing entry into, stay in and departure from the United Kingdom as they may

---

<sup>102</sup> Baxter, 166.

<sup>103</sup> Baxter, 166-167.

<sup>104</sup> Baxter, 167.

<sup>105</sup> Baxter, 170.

deem necessary [...]” the decision not to ratify Protocol No.4, which provides liberty of movement and prohibition of collective expulsion of aliens, as well as Protocol No.7, regarding procedural safeguards relating to expulsion of aliens.<sup>106</sup> But Great Britain does not possess absolute control over its immigration laws. As British journalist Melanie Phillips points out Great Britain’s adoption of the European Court on Human Right ruling which prevented the deportation of individuals because they might be harmed in their country of origin provides an opportunity for the asylum system to be abused by someone simply claiming asylum to prevent deportation. Thus, the European Court on Human Right ruling holds precedent over rulings by British judges, amounting to a subjugation of British law.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Gigauri, 24.

<sup>107</sup> Phillips, 20-23.

## IV. The Clash of Civilizations

“Whatever system is to be established in the world ought to be on the authority of God, deriving its laws from Him alone.”<sup>108</sup>

- Sayyid Qutb, Muslim Brotherhood

In Bernard Lewis’ 1990 article, “The Roots of Muslim Rage” he described the conflict between Islam and Western democracies as a “clash of civilizations.” He did not define it as a mutually exclusive, two-part clash, but rather as a rejection by Muslims of the principles and values practiced and by Western democracies. Specifically, Lewis felt that Western-style legal codes and the equality of women were among the principle offenses against Islam.<sup>109</sup> Exacerbating this conflict is the military and political domination of the world by nations which are not based on religious code, but in fact direct a separation of religion and politics. Collectively this amounts to an invasion or attack against Islam itself and not just Muslim people. For Muslims it is a requirement to defend their religion as part of their identity. As Muslims struggle to assert the authority of Islam in their own lands, they also struggle in foreign lands. The corresponding reaction in Western nations is to defend their way of life and resist being undermined by a minority which is considered to have an ideology which is incompatible.<sup>110</sup>

Today this struggle is often considered only as it becomes a component of discussion related to terrorist activity, and little attention is paid to the political struggle. According to Douglas J. Macdonald, a political science professor at Colgate University, Islam is an ideologically-driven grand political strategy and represents a vast, social revolutionary

---

<sup>108</sup> Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, (Indianapolis, IN: American Trust, 1990), 61.

<sup>109</sup> Bernard Lewis, “The Roots of Muslim Rage,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1990, 48-50.

<sup>110</sup> Timothy T. Urban, *Fourth Generation Warfare and the Cultural Divide* (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air Command and Staff College, 2006), iii.



movement.<sup>111</sup> There are numerous Muslim political groups like Hizb ut-Tahrir who have been able to use the freedom of speech and right to representation granted by liberal democracies to their advantage. The long-term goal of many of these organizations is to reestablish a caliphate and the Islamic way of life, ruled by *Sharia* law, based on the Quran. These objectives are political goals.<sup>112</sup> If Islamist goals are achieved Islam would become the exclusive religion with all other religions being subjugated to or replaced by Islam.<sup>113</sup> As Hussein Masawi, former leader of Hezbollah, stated: “We are not fighting so that you will offer us something. We are fighting to eliminate you.”<sup>114</sup>

Mark Steyn, a political commentator and cultural critic,<sup>115</sup> believes that much of the opposition expressed by Westerners is because of the possibility of the replacement of legal and political authority in their own lands which represents a threat. He states that the opposition is not about race, but about culture.<sup>116</sup> This creates an internal struggle for liberal, pluralistic governments. While attempting to retain the inclusive nature of the multicultural agenda they are urged by their constituents to develop restrictive policies against Muslims.<sup>117</sup> Balancing the opposing views can be expected to pose problems for democratic governments; in a poll taken in

---

<sup>111</sup> Macdonald, vii.

<sup>112</sup> Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The Methodology of Hizb ut-Tahrir for Change* (London, England: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1999), 23-25.

<sup>113</sup> Frank Schneider, *Hizb ut-Tahrir: A Threat Behind a Legal Facade?* (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2006), 82.

<sup>114</sup> Bill Sarnoff, “Arabs' Efforts Lacking,” *The Register-Guard (Eugene, OR)* January 14, 2003. <http://www.articlearchives.com/government-public-administration/government-bodies-offices/202834-1.html> (accessed January 16, 2009). Although Mr. Masawi’s comment was directed toward the Israeli government and its attempts to re-establish peace talks with the Palestinians, this comment exemplifies a radical position of Islam.

<sup>115</sup> Mark Steyn, *Mark’s Bio*, SteynOnline, <http://www.steynonline.com/content/view/67/121/> (accessed March 27, 2009).

<sup>116</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, xxvi.

<sup>117</sup> Urban, 1.

Germany in May 2006, for example, 61 percent believed that a “clash of cultures” with Islam had already begun.<sup>118</sup> The solution to this conflict is seen by many citizens as a need for a broad, internally focused political grand strategy, which incorporates all of the elements of national power in order to retain the national identity incorporating immigrant populations, and not being replaced by them.

For British cultural conservatives like Melanie Phillips the British government’s adoption of a multicultural agenda has amounted to a betrayal by the government and a failure to properly govern as well as protect Great Britain’s national identity. In her book, *Londonistan*, she cites examples like Prince Charles’ decision to change his title when he is king to “defender of faith”<sup>119</sup> rather than “Defender of The Faith” as an insult not only to the Anglican Church but to the nation’s identity. Additionally, the British government’s failure to facilitate the assimilation of Muslim immigrants into broader British society and instead tolerate enclaves which remain connected to the culture of their country of origin represents a failure to exert the power and authority of the government over its citizens, natural and immigrant.<sup>120</sup> Others, like Stanley Renshon argue “that many of the racial, ethnic, religious, and institutional changes suggested by social liberals would weaken the very culture they are trying to improve.”<sup>121</sup>

Cultural conservatives are trying to preserve the national sense of “Britishness.” The desire for a common, national (British) identity does not necessarily exclude the existence of other identities completely; rather it is the precedence and level of importance given to the national identity before others. Resistance to inclusion of *Sharia* law in Great Britain centers on

---

<sup>118</sup> Macdonald, 28-9.

<sup>119</sup> Phillips, 66-67.

<sup>120</sup> Phillips, 2-9.

<sup>121</sup> Renshon, 59.

the treatment of women. Sadiq Khan, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Department for Communities and Local Government, is particularly critical of Muslim demands for Islamic law separate from British Common Law.<sup>122</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, has acknowledged some of the commonality/overlap between the two legal systems but does not support an implementation of separate Islamic courts because Sharia law restricts many of the rights of individuals enjoy under the British Common Law system.<sup>123 124</sup>

According the Stanley Renshon and Melanie Phillips, multiculturalism as a doctrine is accused of supporting immigrant interests at the expense of native citizens. The support for any and all groups, regardless of their size, influence, goals, or identity amounts to a reverse form of discrimination against a nation's traditional majority and identity.<sup>125</sup> In fact, a multicultural society changes the basic cultural, psychological, social, institutional, and political organizations of a nation.<sup>126</sup> Multiculturalism's appeal is based upon a perception of fairness and equal treatment. However, it fails to recognize differences in cultures and ignores whether those differences are right or just. Like a ship without a rudder multiculturalism drifts aimlessly, as Timothy Urban describes, "irrespective of natural or moral law, it is doomed to fail."<sup>127</sup>

Still other critics cite secular society as a source for the failure of government. The separation of [Christian] Church and State has created a spiritual vacuum and has enabled Islam

---

<sup>122</sup> Jonathan Oliver, "Muslims rebuffed over sharia courts," *The Times OnLine*, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article4926612.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).

<sup>123</sup> Dr. Rowan Williams, "BBC Interview - Radio 4 World at One." *Archbishop of Canterbury*, <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1573> (accessed February 10, 2009).

<sup>124</sup> Dr. Rowan Williams, "Civil and Religious Law in England" *Archbishop of Canterbury*, <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1575> (accessed February 10, 2009)

<sup>125</sup> Renshon, 90 and 92.

<sup>126</sup> Renshon, 185.

<sup>127</sup> Urban, 12-13.

to exert its authority unchecked.<sup>128</sup> The general tendency of British society away from Judeo-Christian morality and ethical standards has continued since the Enlightenment period nearly two hundred years ago. In some respects Prince Charles' pronouncement to change his title is an obvious result of the trend, not a sudden shift desired by one man. Arguably, the secular state has turned against itself as both the source of the world's failures as well and the agent which failed to right the previous wrongs.<sup>129</sup> While it has supported every other culture but its own this "self-blaming, victim culture" appears to support efforts to undermine its own values, traditions, and authority.<sup>130</sup> It is this type of activity which Antonio Gramsci, leader of Italy's Communist Party in the 1920s, recognized as the most effective way to defeat Western society; by subverting its culture and morality. Melanie Phillips provides the example of British schools "no longer teaching the values or [narrative] history of the nation; instead they teach that values are whatever anyone wants them to be"<sup>131</sup> rather than supporting Great Britain's fundamental values. She asserts that the authority of the government has been willfully undermined because the laws of Great Britain have not been taken priority over the freedoms granted to immigrants to practice their religion, customs and culture.<sup>132</sup>

Melanie Phillips expresses throughout her book that the betrayal of civic duty and leadership which does not lead, provides another example of the hostility of cultural conservatives.<sup>133</sup> For its native population the government must enact policies which reflect the majority of the population's needs and desires. For its immigrant population a government must

---

<sup>128</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, 101.

<sup>129</sup> Urban, 13.

<sup>130</sup> Phillips, xviii-xxi and 60.

<sup>131</sup> Phillips, xx and 62-63.

<sup>132</sup> Phillips, xvii and 57-59.

<sup>133</sup> Phillips, 2-9 and 66-67.

take responsibility for efforts to foster the integration and assimilation of immigrants.<sup>134</sup> For Great Britain this would imply programs which enable immigrants to read, write, and speak English to enhance the ability of immigrants to integrate into the broader British society.<sup>135</sup> The provision of civic programs which depict the norms of right and wrong cannot be superseded by norms of “harmless” or “harmful.”<sup>136</sup> From a traditional perspective actions and customs should be judged against national standards not left to be held against no standard at all. This “forcing the issue” is exactly what is required in order for opposing dialogue to take place and result in assimilation of immigrants as well as acceptance by native citizens “without a fear of charges of prejudice or racism.”<sup>137</sup>

Finally, cultural conservatives view the incursion of Islamic culture as a threat to their desire for and identity with traditional values. Colin Dye, the senior minister and Leader of Kensington Temple / London City Church, cites the example of *halal* foods as a tool for the Islamization of Great Britain. He describes the incursion this way, “the expanding Muslim market has encouraged many businesses in Great Britain to offer halal foods. However, the requirements for separate preparation and storage for halal and non-halal foods may become such a burden on business owners that they chose to sell only halal products to their customers. This is a discreet form of religious ritualism, and has been pointed to as evidence of a movement to Islamize Britain.”<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Renshon, 181.

<sup>135</sup> Renshon, 113.

<sup>136</sup> Daniel Yankelovich, *New Rules, Searching for Self-Fulfillment in a World Turned Upside Down* (New York, NY: Random House, 1981), 88.

<sup>137</sup> Phillips, 183-187.

<sup>138</sup> Colin Dye, *The Islamization of Britain: And What Must Be Done to Prevent It*, (London, England: Pilcrow Press, 2007) 26-27.

Attempts by Islamists to assert their own tradition and culture, however, may be a reaction to, rather than an attack upon, Western culture. A New York Times report stated: “The conservative Islamic revival has reached Europe...where frustrated second- and third-generation Arab immigrants frequently say they feel rejected by European society.”<sup>139</sup> But Judith Yaphe, a specialist in Middle Eastern political analysis at the National Defense University, cautions that the current subscription to a politics of inclusion does not indicate that Islamist organizations have given up their basic principles of opposing what they see un-Islamic political systems which dictate a separation of church and state;<sup>140</sup> as a result both cultural conservatives and Islamic traditionalists respond viscerally, potentially deepening the divide between the two camps. Requests by Islamists for what they perceive as inclusive activities such as the Muslim Council of Britain’s, “Towards Greater Understanding: Meeting the Needs of Muslim Pupils in State Schools,” are viewed as demands for change and adaptation by British society into the minority Islamic society and not the other way around where Muslim pupils to are required to adopt the British values of democracy and tolerance.<sup>141</sup>

Extremist Muslim organizations identify the issue differently. They believe that any effort to assimilate to Western culture is paramount to rejection of their own Islamic culture. They fully support a separation from Western culture, even if it occurs in Western nations. They do not perceive problems arising from their decision to remain isolated from broader Western society.<sup>142</sup> A report from the Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst (AIVD), the Dutch intelligence

---

<sup>139</sup> Craig S. Smith, “In Mourning Slain Filmmaker, Dutch Confront Limitations of Their Tolerance,” *The New York Times*, November 10, 2004  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/10/international/europe/10dutch.html> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>140</sup> Judith S. Yaphe, *Islamic Radicalism: Shifting Approaches to Power But Not to Islamic Goals* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1997), 1.

<sup>141</sup> Dye, 34.

<sup>142</sup> Urban, 15.

and security service, concluded that increasing numbers of Muslim youths are “embracing the fundamentalist line” in the Muslim enclaves of Belgium, Britain, France, and Spain.<sup>143</sup> This leads to questions by traditional European citizens as well as politically moderate Muslims about the end-state sought by extreme Islamist organizations and especially about the means used to reach their goals.<sup>144</sup> Often cited by extremists in both camps as a way to justify or provide support for terrorist acts is verse 5:9 of the Quran, “Then, when the sacred months are drawn away, slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them, and confine them, and lie in wait for them at every place of ambush.”<sup>145</sup>

Terrorism does not have to be spectacular events, like the destruction of New York City’s World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. For Europeans, the murder of Theo van Gogh and the riots after the publication of the cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed by *Jyllands-Posten* are both examples of Muslim groups attempting to inhibit freedom of speech about Islam.<sup>146</sup> The terrorist bombing in Madrid is considered by many conservatives as an event in a world-wide terrorist plot. It is recognized as a way to influence the popular election in Spain, defeat the Popular Party, and force the removal of Spanish troops from their operations as part of the Multi-National Forces in Iraq.<sup>147</sup> Given such examples cultural conservatives feel that appeasement of radical Islamist groups is fundamentally wrong.<sup>148</sup> Returning to the example in Figure 1 (page 9),

---

<sup>143</sup> General Intelligence and Security Service, *Recruitment for the Jihad in the Netherlands: From Incident to Trend* (The Hague: Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, December 9, 2002), <https://www.aivd.nl/actueel-publicaties/aivd-publicaties/publicaties/recruitment-for-the-jihad-in-the-netherlands> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>144</sup> Macdonald, 7.

<sup>145</sup> Gordon R. Middleton, *Jihad: Islamic Thought and Practice*. (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air War College, 1992), 3.

<sup>146</sup> Phillips, xiii.

<sup>147</sup> Steyn, *America Alone*, 36.

<sup>148</sup> Macdonald, vii.

a British conservative this would place the highest importance to that of being a British citizen with secondary consideration being given to the identification as someone who is of Pakistani decent and/or a practicing Muslim. Instead conservatives assert that the failures of the Muslim community to keep watch over itself and comply with existing Western laws of the State are grounds to continue the adversarial relationship.<sup>149</sup>

However, democracy requires a bond among the citizens of a nation. Failure to maintain some common identity can lead to the nation having no identity, or what has been called an “identitarian black hole” by political theorist William Connolly when referring to the conditions within a nation where there is no common bond at all.<sup>150</sup> But defining what constitutes proper assimilation of immigrants is not easy. At its extremes assimilation could be defined as either a true melting pot where immigrants become almost indistinguishable from natives or at its weakest which requires just enough similarity between disparate groups to keep the peace.<sup>151</sup> The four men identified as the 7/7 Bombers in Britain, Mohammad Sidique Khan, Shehzad Tanweer, Germaine Lindsay, and Hasib Hussain, met the common criteria for assimilation with respect to their language, education, and economic status<sup>152</sup> yet they lacked what John Fonte calls “patriotic assimilation.”<sup>153</sup> Perhaps civic nationalists provide a better analysis of the extent of immigrant assimilation. Civic nationalists, so named because they focus on the development of a nation as a political and cultural community, contend that the development of “solidarity among strangers...motivates people to act politically in ways that take into account the interests and the

---

<sup>149</sup> Robert S. Leiken, “Europe’s Itinerant Imams,” *The Weekly Standard* July 19, 2004, 27.

<sup>150</sup> Clarissa Rile Hayward, “Constitutional Patriotism and Its Others” (paper prepared for the 2004 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL September 2-5, 2004), 6.

<sup>151</sup> Levine, 2.

<sup>152</sup> Leiken, *Europe’s Mujahideen*, 10.

<sup>153</sup> John Fonte, “Homeland Politics,” *National Review*, June 2, 2003, 27-30.



good of others.” They focus on collective forms of identification, rather than individual characteristics “such as ethnic, religious, linguistic, and other culturally particularistic identifications.”<sup>154</sup> The development of this “patchwork heritage”<sup>155</sup> is the responsibility of the government, not merely allowing immigrants to take advantage of economic opportunity, so there must be some for of interference with an immigrants’ right to retain and further develop emotional ties to their “home country.”<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup> Hayward, 5.

<sup>155</sup> Barack H. Obama, *Inaugural Address*, January 21, 2009, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/President\\_Barack\\_Obamas\\_Inaugural\\_Address](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President_Barack_Obamas_Inaugural_Address) (accessed February 12, 2009).

<sup>156</sup> Renshon, 182.

## V. Multiculturalism

“...certain provision of Sharia are already recognised in our society and under our law; so it's not as if we're bringing in an alien and rival system; we already have in this country a number of situations in which the internal law of religious communities is recognised by the law of the land as justified conscientious objections in certain circumstances in providing certain kinds of social relations.”<sup>157</sup>

- Dr. Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury

### A. Multicultural Theory

Multiculturalism is defined as “the doctrine that several different cultures (rather than one national culture) can coexist peacefully and equitably in a single country.”<sup>158</sup> It is similar to other collective social constructs such as cosmopolitanism and pluralism. According to William A. Galston, director of the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland, multiculturalism leads us to a conception of mankind as a harmonious body, one where individual rights are not denied while achieving civic unity among diverse groups of people.<sup>159</sup>

Multiculturalists, like Galston, welcome immigrants, and any “different” population; they consider greater diversity to be a benefit to society. As illustrated previously in Figure 1 multicultural supporters are happy to celebrate and embrace the diversity of British society at the expense of the common areas of multiple identities because they perceive these uncommon areas to constitute a larger whole than either the overlap of identities or that of any one of the three

---

<sup>157</sup> Williams, “BBC Interview - Radio 4 World at One.”

<sup>158</sup> Dictionary.com, “Multiculturalism,” Dictionary.com.  
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/multiculturalism> (accessed: February 20, 2009).

<sup>159</sup> William A. Galston, *Liberal Pluralism: The Implications of Value Pluralism for Political Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 23.

alone. It is a “more diversity is better” perception without regard of specific traits of the disparate areas.

As immigrants arrive to their “new” country they encounter numerous changes in their lives. They often find that adaptation and assimilation to the “new” country is a difficult task. Very often immigrants will need to learn a new language; they will encounter different values and customs and even the “new” nation’s identity. Multiculturalists view the process of assimilation, adaptation and integration of immigrants as both their personal responsibility as well as the “new” nation’s responsibility.<sup>160</sup> Further, the assimilation process is not solely the responsibility of the nation’s government, but requires individual citizens to participate in the welcoming process and not to view immigrants as hostile or threatening solely because they are different. To assist in this process multicultural advocates demand that national institutions respond to the need of ethnic and other disadvantaged groups with special programs, rules, and resource allocations.<sup>161</sup> Native citizens traditionally see the difference between themselves and immigrants as a collection of small differences,<sup>162</sup> while people from developing nations often have broad, basic identifications for themselves and the citizens of their “new” nation, such as religion, language, or national origin.<sup>163</sup>

Modern multiculturalists view national, political boundaries as irrelevant due to globalization. For philosophers like Thomas Pogge cosmopolitanism’s defining characteristics are

---

<sup>160</sup> Martin, 59.

<sup>161</sup> Renshon, 90 and 92.

<sup>162</sup> Dalton, 8.

<sup>163</sup> Dalton, 17.

inclusiveness and impartiality.<sup>164</sup> It is the relations between culturally different peoples, not the legal or political definitions of citizenship, which provide identity with the “worldwide community.”<sup>165</sup> It is through the development of these relations which will result in collective efforts for the benefit of mankind.<sup>166, 167</sup> One example of successful collective efforts is the establishment and growth of the European Union. The EU allows a great deal of freedom for the individual countries to maintain their national sovereignty, while binding them together in broad legal, political, and economic agreements.

The decision by Great Britain to join the European Union in 1993 concurs with adoption of multicultural policies by the government. Identification with the larger European community, rather than specifically that of Great Britain, in fact, more closely matches the views of cosmopolitanism which prescribes that nation identity must exist in harmony with other attachments, without prejudice for “sub- and supra-national groupings, allowing attachment potentially to extend to the whole of humanity.”<sup>168</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, has professed his support for multiculturalism as well. He describes the integration of immigrants as “transformative accommodation:”<sup>169</sup> “a scheme in which individuals retain the liberty to choose the jurisdiction under which they will seek to resolve certain carefully specified

---

<sup>164</sup> Thomas Pogge, “Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty,” *Ethics*, Vol. 103, No. 1, (1992), 71.

<sup>165</sup> David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).

<sup>166</sup> Martha Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” *The Boston Review* (1994), [http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/Theory/Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism.pdf](http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/Theory/Patriotism%20and%20Cosmopolitanism.pdf) (accessed 10 January 2009), 1.

<sup>167</sup> Hayward, 3-5.

<sup>168</sup> Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, ed., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2002), pg.

<sup>169</sup> Aleyet Sachar, *Multicultural Jurisdictions*. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 122.

matters, so that [authorities] are forced to compete for the loyalty of their shared constituents.”<sup>170</sup>

For Dr. Williams conflict exists between what is considered to be publicly acceptable and which matters are “tolerated” but relegated to privacy.<sup>171</sup> This appears to imply that the rights of the individual take precedence over those of a group or even the right of the state. But, in order to survive a democracy requires some level of civic cohesion and collective agreement. Proper dialogue to reach such an agreement will provide boundaries which provide the greatest freedom for the populace as a whole, and not simply meet the desires of the strongest or largest group.<sup>172</sup>

The Archbishop of Canterbury created a firestorm when he discussed the coexistence of *Sharia* law with British common law. His lecture, “Civil and Religious Law in England” focused more on the existence of overlap between the two legal codes and was not intended to imply a blending of the two or, far more radical, a replacement of British common law with *Sharia* law. As Dr. Williams stated, “Sharia is a method rather than a code of law... I think it would be quite wrong to say that we could ever licence, so to speak, a system of law for some community which gave people no right of appeal, no way of exercising the rights that are guaranteed to them as citizens in general.”<sup>173</sup> A [legal system] “can hardly admit or ‘license’ protocols that effectively take away the rights it acknowledges as generally valid”<sup>174</sup> So, on this point he does not support the “rights” of one minority group (Muslims) to outweigh those of the greater body (the British population).

---

<sup>170</sup> Williams, “Civil and Religious Law in England.”

<sup>171</sup> Williams, “Civil and Religious Law in England.”

<sup>172</sup> Hayward, 1.

<sup>173</sup> Dr. Rowan Williams, “BBC Interview - Radio 4 World at One.”

<sup>174</sup> Williams, “Civil and Religious Law in England.”

This is just one example where multiculturalism appears at odds with the expectations of broader British society which require Muslim immigrants to “display loyalty to the state, acceptance of the system of governance, and acknowledgement of the privileged place of aspects of British culture.”<sup>175</sup> The contention here is that the rights of state can supersede those of the individual in matters which reduce conflict among the population and punish violations of law or moral code.<sup>176</sup> It can be argued that multiculturalists believe that the social and political agenda pursued by the British government has created or ignored problems related to the integration of Muslim immigrants and that the government is a victim of its own agenda.<sup>177</sup>

## **B. Diversity and the Inability for Islam to pose a Threat**

“...certain provision of Sharia are already recognised in our society and under our law; so it's not as if we're bringing in an alien and rival system; we already have in this country a number of situations in which the internal law of religious communities is recognised by the law of the land as justified conscientious objections in certain circumstances in providing certain kinds of social relations.”

- Dr. Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury

“Why do Muslims suddenly pose a challenge?”<sup>178</sup> Is it a conflict of religious or social ideology? Can the doctrine of multiculturalism overcome the conflict in the pursuit of social harmony among British citizens? As Muslim populations expand at rates greater than those of non-Muslim British citizens they are able to exercise increasing political pressure on the national government. Within the Muslim community many feel there has been significant

---

<sup>175</sup> Baxter, 170.

<sup>176</sup> Galston, 1.

<sup>177</sup> Urban, iii.

<sup>178</sup> Donald A. Frahler, *Is Islam a Threat to the West? Maybe (Maybe Not)* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 1994), 28.

adaptation to Britain and now it is Britain's turn to adapt to Islam, politically, socially, and intellectually.<sup>179</sup> While Islam has a clear doctrine based on the Quran, Muslims are not collectively monolithic. There is great diversity within the Muslim community and most Muslims in England today are second- or third-generation citizens of Britain. The majorities of these citizens are described as "moderate" and support pluralistic ideals like "live-and let-live" and believe Islam to be compatible with these beliefs.<sup>180</sup>

John Esposito, a professor of International Affairs and Islamic Studies at Georgetown University, believes that "early underestimation of religion as a source of identity has led to its overestimation today." This binary reduction of Islam distorts the political and religious aims and conflict with the non-Islamic world.<sup>181</sup> Don Frahler concludes that, "there is no *Green Peril*, rather Islam is a mosaic of many national, ethnic and religious groups competing for power and influence without sophisticated armies."<sup>182</sup> The lack of a single leader and the lack of a common political agenda are further examples of the inability of Islam to pose a threat to the "traditional" goals of British society.<sup>183</sup> Muslim citizens in Great Britain are thus, more similar than different from their non-Muslim counterparts who desire political and legal representation and greater freedom.<sup>184</sup> Muslims can be expected to further their political agenda because "education and economic well-being give Muslims greater confidence in their own cultural identity."<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>179</sup> Baxter, 164.

<sup>180</sup> Macdonald, 13.

<sup>181</sup> John L. Esposito, "Political Islam and the West," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Spring 2000, 51.

<sup>182</sup> Frahler, 26.

<sup>183</sup> Yaphe, 2.

<sup>184</sup> Frahler, 27.

<sup>185</sup> Mustafa Malik, "Islam in Europe: The Quest for a Paradigm," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (2001): 105.

But Islam is not the only attribute for British Muslims to identify themselves. Again, Figure 1 showed overlap as well as separation between all three attributes. The differences between Muslim communities are often highlighted by violence between groups because of their national origin or their observation of Shia or Sunni Islam.<sup>186</sup> These episodes are often cited as proof to dispel the myth of a monolithic Islam. However, there are efforts by The Muslim Council of Britain, an umbrella group for Muslim organizations in Great Britain, to develop greater unity among Muslims in their political views.<sup>187</sup> Traditionally, British Muslims have voted for Labour Party candidates, but this support is not universal. As some Muslim citizens become wealthier or enjoy higher social status they have easily changed their support to Conservative Party candidates. Political support has not solely been identified by Muslim or non-Muslim, the Imams and Mosques Council has urged Muslims to vote for “candidates who want to improve education, make the streets safer, campaign to alleviate poverty, respect cultural diversity and favour fair trade.”<sup>188</sup> Candidates meeting these requirements are likely to be found in any political party, conservative or liberal, Muslim or non-Muslim.

In what President Obama described as “our patchwork heritage,”<sup>189</sup> social identities are not based upon a single factor; they are accumulations of our upbringing, education, culture and numerous other factors. Contrary to the ideals of multiculturalism, it is dangerous to assume such

---

<sup>186</sup> Burhan Wazir, “Inter-racial hatred pits local migrants against 'dirty' newcomers,” *The Times OnLine*, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article395980.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).

<sup>187</sup> Sean O’Neill, “Masked protest as Muslims set out their guidelines for Islamic voters,” *The Times OnLine*, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/election2005/article383190.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).

<sup>188</sup> O’Neill.

<sup>189</sup> Obama.



precedence for religion and even worse to believe it is the only significant factor upon which people will base there allegiance.<sup>190</sup>

---

<sup>190</sup> Williams, “Civil and Religious Law in England.”

## VI. Policy Implications

What should Great Britain do to overcome its current difficulty of integrating Muslim immigrants into broader British society? Melanie Phillips advocates closing the door to new immigrants and working to integrate the current population of Muslim citizens and residents into British society.<sup>191</sup> Colin Dye proposes programs to promote loyalty to the Crown, elimination of public funding for Islamic programs in order to reverse policies which favor Islam, and development of measures to promote balanced reporting in British media.<sup>192</sup> As Minister Dye puts it, “Christianity is not always the villain; Islam is not always the oppressed.”<sup>193</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, favors the maintenance of a multicultural agenda in order to repair the fragmentation of British society. He favors increasing dialogue between disparate communities in order to overcome the differences between them.<sup>194</sup> Dr. Williams’ proposal is very much an adaptation of Warren Gunderman’s proposal for a US foreign policy of integration rather than containment directed toward Muslim nations.<sup>195</sup>

The quest for Great Britain’s government is the development of programs which highlight the common attributes of its citizens. This attributes are illustrated in Figure 1 as the overlap between the three circles. A second goal for the assimilation of Great Britain’s Muslim immigrants is to emphasize and give precedence to the “British” identity while allowing for the existence of the “Muslim” as well as, in the example, the Pakistani identity. In order for the British government to ensure continued internal stability it must develop programs that foster an

---

<sup>191</sup> Phillips, 187-189.

<sup>192</sup> Dye, 64-65.

<sup>193</sup> Dye, 64-65.

<sup>194</sup> Williams, “BBC Interview - Radio 4 World at One.”

<sup>195</sup> Gunderman, 1.

immigrant's allegiance toward the nation through promotion of traditional British national identity.<sup>196</sup>

## A. Highlighting Social Commonalities

John F. Kennedy said, "Let us not be blind to our differences, but let us also direct attention to our common interests and the means by which those differences can be resolved."<sup>197</sup> If an objective of assimilation programs for immigrants is to promote social cohesion and reduce internal conflict in British society then the words of President Kennedy can be applied. In order to recognize the benefits of communal existence those benefits must be explained to all citizens in common terms, not from the viewpoint of separate groups. Yet, forcing change upon British society should not be pursued simply because change is believed to be inevitable. In *When Nations Die* Jim Nelson Black, a public policy analyst, identifies the decay of social structure, culture, and morality as the three most common attributes for the failure of numerous civilizations. It is the common traditions, values, and attributes of a society that must survive in order to retain the *raison d'être* of British society.<sup>198</sup>

An effort to conduct citizenship lessons at mosques<sup>199</sup> is just one example of efforts by both the British government as well as the British Muslim community to reduce the tension between Muslim and non-Muslim citizens. The more successful such programs are the greater will become the "shared standards in British life" and the less likely the chance of Great Britain's

---

<sup>196</sup> Gunderman, 1.

<sup>197</sup> John F. Kennedy, "Commencement Address at American University," John F. Kennedy Library, <http://www.jfklibrary.org> (accessed January 9, 2009).

<sup>198</sup> Jim Nelson Black, *When Nations Die*, (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1994), 106.

<sup>199</sup> The Daily Mail, "Citizenship lessons for young Muslims to help beat extremism," *MailOnline*, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1036204/Citizenship-lessons-young-Muslims-help-beat-extremism.html> (accessed March 20, 2009).

“national life breaking up into a sort of cultural archipelago of ever smaller islands further and further apart from each other.”<sup>200</sup>

Immigration should promote a sense of national cohesion.<sup>201</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury’s description of shared citizenship<sup>202</sup> addresses those common factors. However, rather than a program of multiculturalism, which draws attention to diversity, the differences of people, transculturalism emphasizes the commonalities of individuals and groups.<sup>203</sup> Transculturalism is the idea President Obama was supporting when he described the “patchwork heritage”<sup>204</sup> of the United States. Great Britain itself is the combination of three nations: England, Scotland, and Wales. The nation’s flag is nicknamed the Union Jack because it is a combination of the English cross of Saint George, the Scottish cross of Saint Andrew, and the Irish cross of Saint Patrick. Recognition of the benefits each individual and group brings to the larger community helps to create greater solidarity among citizens<sup>205</sup> instead of a ghetto-ization of the nation’s future.<sup>206</sup>

---

<sup>200</sup> Byrne.

<sup>201</sup> Dan Stein, “An Immigration Policy Needs Objectives” in *Blueprints for An Ideal Legal Immigration Policy*, Richard D. Lamm and Alan Simpson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2001), 83.

<sup>202</sup> Williams, “BBC Interview - Radio 4 World at One.”

<sup>203</sup> Urban, 25.

<sup>204</sup> Obama, *Inaugural Address*.

<sup>205</sup> Renshon, 70.

<sup>206</sup> Williams, “BBC Interview - Radio 4 World at One.”

## B. Offer immigrants something to aspire to be

It is the responsibility of the government to develop programs which foster the integration and assimilation of immigrants.<sup>207</sup> The end-state here is helping Muslims to feel accepted while at the same time developing the loyalty to the nation in order to help them think of themselves as citizens of Great Britain first.<sup>208</sup> Civic programs must be created which are not exactly a compromise between the British government and Muslim immigrants. The British government must provide an identity for Muslims to aspire toward, one which prioritizes loyalty to the nation and the government over loyalty to Islam. Jürgen Habermas' philosophy recommends "constitutional patriotism: an acculturation to a liberal and democratic political culture which encourages people to embrace principles of constitutional democracy."<sup>209</sup>

This will not be an easy road to travel. After World War II most migrants to Great Britain sought a better life for themselves and their families. They were economically not politically motivated. Additionally, they were not encouraged by the British to pursue a new national identity so they retained connection to, and identification with, their pre-existing communal identity.<sup>210</sup> While many Muslims appreciate the benefits of liberal, democratic government, they also see the secular Western lifestyle as hypocritical and intolerant of Islam.<sup>211</sup> While espousing political inclusion, it too often reverts to the binary Christian-Muslim debate which is considered

---

<sup>207</sup> Renshon, 181.

<sup>208</sup> Renshon, 220.

<sup>209</sup> Jürgen Habermas, "Appendix II: Citizenship and National Identity," in *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, transl. William Rehg (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 491-515.

<sup>210</sup> Baxter, 171.

<sup>211</sup> Shabbir Akhtar, *The Quran and the Secular Mind*, (London, England: Routledge, 2008), 7.

by Muslims as an intimately personal attack on themselves and Islam.<sup>212</sup> The challenge lies in recognition of and addressing both competing and common interests.<sup>213</sup> The pursuit of the assimilation of Muslim immigrants must be to develop the shared identity which fosters a patriotic attachment<sup>214</sup> of Muslims to Great Britain as well as between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Education is a key element of Great Britain's efforts to integrate Muslim citizens.<sup>215</sup> Civic programs, such as the National Endowment for the Humanities' program *We the People*<sup>216</sup> for example, must teach the history of Great Britain, the English language, common law and expectations of all citizens in a democratic country will promote the "British" identity. As discussed previously the citizens of Great Britain identified freedom of speech, the history of Great Britain, the nation's geography and landscape, the justice and legal system, the British government, a strong economy, the Monarchy, and fairness and equality<sup>217</sup> as the most important aspects of "Britishness." The goal of these civic programs is to develop an internal feeling of responsibility on the side of the person to be integrated. Concomitantly, the British government must identify and support moderate Muslim organizations to gain support for efforts to expel radical, intolerant views.<sup>218</sup> Civic programs should be also developed which aim to ease the

---

<sup>212</sup> Akhtar, 92-96.

<sup>213</sup> Esposito, *Political Islam and the West*, 51.

<sup>214</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*, Max Pensky, trans. and ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 76.

<sup>215</sup> Schneider, 84.

<sup>216</sup> National Endowment for the Humanities, "We the People," <http://www.wethepeople.gov/index.html> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>217</sup> YouGov.com, "Britishness" *Daily Telegraph*, <http://www.yougov.co.uk/corporate/archives/press-archives-social-Main.asp?dID=2005> (accessed April 18, 2009).

<sup>218</sup> Schneider, 84.

transition process for immigrants. These programs are applicable to potential immigrants, ones who have initiated requests for visas, to reduce the “foreign” feeling associated with moving to a different country and a different culture.<sup>219</sup>

---

<sup>219</sup> Renshon, 224-234.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akhtar, Shabbir. *The Quran and the Secular Mind*. London, England: Routledge, 2008.
- Ameli, Saied Reza. *Globalization, Americanization and British Muslim Identity*. London, England: Islamic College for Advanced Studies Press, 2002.
- Ansari, Humayun. *The Infidel Within: Muslims in Britain Since 1800*. London, England: Hurst and Company, 2004.
- Apap, Joanna (and others). "The Nexus Between Immigration, Integration and Citizenship in the EU." Edited by Sergio Carrera (Editor). *The Nexus Between Immigration, Integration and Citizenship in the EU*. Brussels, Belgium: Challenge Liberty and Security, 2006. 1-63.
- Baldwin, Tom and Rozenberg, Gabriel. *Britain 'must scrap multiculturalism'*. April 3, 2004. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article1055221.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Baxter, Kylie. "From Migrants to Citizens: Muslims in Britain 1950s–1990s." *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 24, No. 2, July 2006: 164–192.
- BBC News. *Muslims 'must accept' free speech*. February 26, 2006. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/4752804.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4752804.stm) (accessed April 10, 2009).
- Bell, Daniel. *The End of Ideology; On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1960.
- Black, Jim Nelson. *When Nations Die*. Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 1994.
- Bond, Clifford G. *Reconciling Nationalism and Stability in Eurasia*. Washington, D.C.: National War College, 1992.
- Borhek, J. T. "Ethnic-Group Cohesion." *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 76, No. 1, July 1970: 33-46.
- Bremner, Charles. *Stoned to death... why Europe is starting to lose its faith in Islam*. December 4, 2004. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article398782.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Buruma, Ian. *Author Ian Buruma discusses his book about Van Gogh's death, Murder In Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance*. October 4, 2006. [http://fora.tv/2006/10/04/Ian\\_Buruma#chapter\\_01](http://fora.tv/2006/10/04/Ian_Buruma#chapter_01) (accessed March 22, 2009).
- Byrne, Liam. *Think tank: Binding Britain together*. September 14, 2008. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/article4748484.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Carling, Jorgen. *European Strategies for Reducing 'Unwanted' Immigration*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2007.
- Chen, Yan and Li, Xin. *Group Identity and Social Preferences*. Dallas, Texas: University of Texas, 2006.
- Clinton, William J. *Remarks to the University of California San Diego Commencement Ceremony in La Jolla, California*. June 14, 1997. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=54268&st=&st1=> (accessed January 10, 2009).
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992.



- Coughlin, Stephen C. *To Our Great Detriment: Ignoring What Extremists Say About Jihad*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense Intelligence College, 2007.
- Croucher, Sheila L. *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.
- Dalton, Russell J. *Social Modernization and the End of Ideology Debate: Patterns of Ideological Polarization*. Prepared for the conference on "Beliefs, Norms and Values in Cross-national Surveys", University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan, December 2004., Irvine, California: University of California, 2005.
- Dickens, Richard and McKnight, Abigail. *Assimilation of Migrants into the British Labour Market*. London, England: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, 2008.
- Dictionary, Encarta. *Multicultural*. [http://encarta.msn.com/dictionary\\_/multiculturalism.html](http://encarta.msn.com/dictionary_/multiculturalism.html) (accessed April 10, 2009).
- Dictionary.com. *Multiculturalism*. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/multiculturalism> (accessed February 20, 2009).
- Dobrot, Laurence A. *The Global War On Terrorism: A Religious War?* Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2007.
- Downer, Alexander. "Extremist Islam Holds Little Appeal." *Middle East Quarterly*. Fall 2005. <http://www.meforum.org/article/779> (accessed January 08, 2009).
- Duderija, Adis. "Identity Construction in the Context of Being a Minority Immigrant Religion: The Case of Western-born Muslims." *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 25, No. 2, July 2007: 141–162.
- Dye, Colin. *The Islamization of Britain: And What Must Be Done to Prevent It*. London, England: Pilcrow Press, 2007.
- Esposito, John L. "Political Islam and the West." *Joint Force Quarterly*, Spring 2000: 49-55.
- . *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. *Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia*. Austria: Manz Crossmedia GmbH & Co KG, 2006.
- Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose and Joan Clement. "Crackdown on Radicals as Dutch Mourn Film Maker." *The Telegraph*. November 10, 2004. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/netherlands/1476316/Crackdown-on-radicals-as-Dutch-mourn-film-maker.html> (accessed January 10, 2009).
- Favell, Adrian. "Integration policy and integration research in Europe." Edited by T. Alexander and Klusmeyer, Doug Aleinikoff. *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001. 349-399.
- Fein, Bruce. "Dual Citizenship Folly." *The Washington Times*. March 1, 2005. <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2005/feb/28/20050228-084038-7711r/> (accessed January 10, 2009).
- Fonte, John. "Homeland Politics." *National Review*, June 2, 2003: 27-30.
- Frahler, Donald A. *Is Islam a Threat to the West? Maybe (Maybe Not)*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 1994.

- Frankel, Glenn. "Muslim Suspect in Dutch Director's Killing Was Caught Between Cultures." *The Washington Post*. November 28, 2004. <http://www.religionnewsblog.com/9551> (accessed January 25, 2009).
- Friedman, Thomas L. "Awaking To A Dream." *New York Times*. March 28, 2004. <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F03E3D71030F93BA15750C0A9629C8B63&scp=1&sq=%22failure%20of%20imagination%22%22thomas%20friedman%22&st=cse> (accessed January 16, 2009).
- Galston, William A. *Liberal Pluralism: The Implications of Value Pluralism for Political Theory and Practice*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- General Intelligence and Security Service. "Recruitment for the Jihad in the Netherlands: From Incident to Trend." *The Hague: Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations*. December 9, 2002. <https://www.aivd.nl/actueel-publicaties/aivd-publicaties/publicaties/publications/recruitment-for-the> (accessed January 10, 2009).
- Gigauri, George. *Resolving the Liberal Paradox: Citizen Rights and Alien Rights in the United Kingdom*. Oxford, England: University of Oxford, 2006.
- Gladwell, Malcolm. *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*. Boston: Little, Brown, 2000.
- Gordon, Milton Myron. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Gunaratna, Rohan. *Inside al-Qai'da: Global Network of Terror*. New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Gunderman, Warren P. *From Containment to Integration: A Grand Strategy for the 21st Century*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2006.
- Habermas, Jürgen. "Identity, Appendix II: Citizenship and National." In *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, by Jürgen Habermas, translated by William Rehg, 491-515. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Edited by Max Pensky. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001.
- Habermas, Jürgen, Ciaran Cronin, and Pablo De Greiff. *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998.
- Haug, Werner, Compton, Paul and Courbage Youssef (editors). *The Demographic Characteristics of Immigrant Populations*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe Publishing, 2002.
- Hayward, Clarissa Rile. "Constitutional Patriotism and Its Others." *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 2004. 1-33.
- Held, David. *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Hizb ut-Tahrir. *The Methodology of Hizb ut-Tahrir for Change*. London, England: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1999.
- Hossmann, Iris. *Europe's Demographic Future: Growing Imbalances*. Berlin, Germany: Berlin Institute, 2008.

- Hume, Mick. *There's no point asking Blunkett what it means to be British. He's forgotten too.* April 12, 2004.  
[http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/mick\\_hume/article821455.ece](http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/mick_hume/article821455.ece)  
 (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.
- . *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York, New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996.
- Islam, Mainul. *Globalization and State Sovereignty*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2003.
- Janowitz, Morris. *The Reconstruction of Patriotism: Education for Civic Consciousness*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Johnson, Anthony J. *Is Democratization a Sound Strategy for Combating Fundamentalist Islam*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2008.
- Kennedy, John F. "Commencement Address at American University." *John F. Kennedy Library*. June 10, 1963. [www.jfklibrary.org](http://www.jfklibrary.org) (accessed January 9, 2009).
- Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- King, Anthony. *What does it mean to be British?* August 2, 2005.  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4196988/What-does-it-mean-to-be-British.html>  
 (accessed April 18, 2009).
- Kushner, Tony. "New Narratives, Old Exclusions? British Historiography and Minority Studies." *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 24, No. 3, November 2006: 347–351.
- Laclau, Ernesto. "Democracy and the Question of Power." *Constellations*, Vol. 8 No. 1, 2001: 3–14.
- Lamm, Richard D. and Simpson, Alan (editors). *Blueprints for An Ideal Legal Immigration Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2001.
- Leiken, Robert S. "Europe's Angry Muslims." *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2005.  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050701faessay84409/robert-s-leiken/europe-s-angry-muslims.html> (accessed January 10, 2009).
- Leiken, Robert S. *Europe's Mujahideen: Where Mass Immigration Meets Global Terrorism*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, 2005.
- . "Europe's Itinerant Imams." *The Weekly Standard*, July 19, 2004: 27–29.
- Levine, Robert A. *Assimilating Immigrants: Why America Can and France Cannot*. Arlington, Virginia: RAND Europe, 2004.
- Levitt, Matthew. *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*. Harrisonburg, Virginia: R.R. Donnelley, 2006.
- Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 1990: 47–60.
- Macdonald, Douglas J. *The New Totalitarians: Social Identities and Radical Islamist Political Grand Strategy*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2007.

- Malik, Mustafa. "Islam in Europe: Quest for a Paradigm." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2001: 100-116.
- Manço, Altay A. *Dialogue with Muslim Communities in Europe*. Brussels, Belgium: Institute for Research, Training and Action on Migration, 2007.
- Martiniello, Marco. "The State, the Market and Cultural Diversity." *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol.22, Nos.2&3, , July/November 2003: 127-140.
- Massengill, Kevin W. *The Politics of Nationalism and Identity in Palestine*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- McKinney, Evan W. *China's Muslims: Separatism and Prospects for Ethnic Peace*. Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School, 2006.
- McLeish, Kendra N. and Oxoby, Robert J. *Identity, Cooperation, and Punishment*. Bonn, Germany: Institute for the Study of Labor, 2007.
- Mehr, Ben-Zion. *Hamas - How Has a Terrorist Organization Become a Political Power?* Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2008.
- Mehta, Pratap. "Cosmopolitanism and the Circle of Reason." *Political Theory* Vol. 28, No. 5 , October 2000: 619-639.
- Middleton, Gordon R. *Jihad: Islamic Thought and Practice*. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air War College, 1992.
- Mirza, Munira. *Being Muslim is not a barrier to being British*. February 2, 2007. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/feb/02/comment.religion> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Munira Mirza, Abi Senthilkumaran and Zein Ja'far. *Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism*. London, England: Policy Exchange, 2007.
- National Endowment for the Humanities. *We the People*. 2002. <http://www.wethepeople.gov/index.html> (accessed January 10, 2009).
- Neumann, Peter R. and Rogers, Brooke. *Recruitment and Mobilisation for the Islamist Militant Movement in Europe*. London, England: King's College, 2006.
- Newman, David. "The Lines that Continue to Separate Us: Borders in a "Borderless" World." *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 30, No. 2, April 2006: 143-161.
- Nussbaum, Martha. *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Edited by Joshua Cohen. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1996.
- . "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism." *The Boston Review*. Beacon Press. 1994. [http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/Theory/Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism.pdf](http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/Theory/Patriotism%20and%20Cosmopolitanism.pdf) (accessed January 10, 2009).
- O'Neill, Sean. *Masked protest as Muslims set out their guidelines for Islamic voters*. April 20, 2005. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/election2005/article383190.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Obama, Barack. *Inaugural Address*. January 21, 2009 . [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/President\\_Barack\\_Obamas\\_Inaugural\\_Address/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President_Barack_Obamas_Inaugural_Address/) (accessed February 12, 2009).

- Oliver, Jonathan. *Muslims rebuffed over sharia courts*. October 12, 2008.  
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article4926612.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Pargeter, Alison. *The New Frontiers of Jihad: Radical Islam in Europe*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Pfaff, William. "Why France Still Insists on Cultural Assimilation: Head Scarves." *International Herald Tribune*, January 17, 2004.
- Phillips, Melanie. *Londonistan*. London, England: Encounter Books, 2006.
- Pogge, Thomas. "Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty." *Ethics*, Vol. 103, No. 1, October 1992: 48-75.
- Powell, Enoch. *Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech*. April 20, 1968.  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html> (accessed March 22, 2009).
- Qutb, Sayyid. *Milestones*. Indianapolis, IN: American Trust, 1990.
- Rampersad, CindyAnn. "The New Immigrants and the Making of a Multicultural Society: A Critical Analysis of Contemporary Ethnographic Approaches." *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 24, No. 2, July 2006: 224–238.
- Rehg, William, transl. and ed. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996.
- Renshon, Stanley A. *The 50% American: Immigration and National Identity in an Age of Terror*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2005.
- Rice, Sean P. *Sun Tzu: Ancient Theories for a Strategy Against Islamic Extremism*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2006.
- Rodgers, Lucy. *What does it mean to be British?* June 5, 2007.  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6723325.stm> (accessed April 18, 2009).
- Sachar, Aleyet. *Multicultural Jurisdictions*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Sageman, Marc. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Sandell, Rickard, Sorroza, Alicia and Olivié, Iliana. "Immigration: A Challenge Offering Opportunities?" *Atlantic Conference*. Seville, Spain: Elcano Royal Institute, 2007.
- Sarnoff, Bill. "Arabs' Efforts Lacking." *The Register-Guard (Eugene, OR)*. January 14, 2003.  
<http://www.articlearchives.com/government-public-administration/government-bodies-offices/202834-1.html> (accessed January 16, 2009).
- Schneider, Frank. *Hizb ut-Tahrir: A Threat Behind a Legal Facade?* Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School, 2006.
- Shapiro, Ian and Lea Brilmayer. *Global Justice. Nomos, 41*. New York, New York: New York University Press, 1999.
- Sherif, Muzafer and Carolyn W. Sherif. *Groups in Harmony and Tension; An Integration of Studies on Intergroup Relations*. New York, New York: Harper, 1953.
- Smith, Craig S. "In Mourning Slain Filmmaker, Dutch Confront Limitations of Their Tolerance." *The New York Times*. November 10, 2004.

- <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/10/international/europe/10dutch.html> (accessed January 10, 2009).
- Smock, David. *Islam and Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2002.
- Steyn, Mark. *America Alone: The End of the World as We Know It*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing Inc, 2006.
- . *Mark's Bio*. <http://www.steynonline.com/content/view/67/121/> (accessed March 27, 2009).
- Teitelbaum, Michael S. "Western Experiences with International Migration in the Context of Population Decline." *The Japanese Journal of Population*, Vol.2, No.1, 2004: March.
- The Daily Mail. *Citizenship lessons for young Muslims to help beat extremism*. July 18, 2008. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1036204/Citizenship-lessons-young-Muslims-help-beat-extremism.html> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- The Pew Global Attitudes Project. *Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries Top Concerns About Religious and Cultural Identity*. Washington, D.C.: PewResearchCenter, 2006.
- Thorp, Arabella, ed. *Impacts of immigration*. Research Paper, London, England: House of Commons Library, 2008.
- Traynor, Ian. "Dutch Liberalism Stares into a Troubled Future as Anti-Muslim Backlash Grows." *The Guardian*. November 13, 2004. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/nov/13/filmnews.film> (accessed January 25, 2009).
- Turabian, Kate L. *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. 7th ed. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- United Nations. *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* New York, New York: United Nations, 2000.
- Urban, Timothy T. *Fourth Generation Warfare and the Cultural Divide*. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air Command and Staff College, 2006.
- Vaisse, Justin. *Muslims in Europe: A short introduction*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 2008.
- Vaisse, Justin. *Unrest in France, November 2005: Immigration, Islam and the Challenge of Integration*. Presentation to Congressional Staff, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2006.
- Van Amersfoort, Hans and Doornik, Jeroen. "People from the Middle East in the Netherlands." *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol.22, Nos.2&3, July/November 2003: 175-187.
- Van Het Loo, Mirjam and others. *A Comparison of American and Dutch Immigration and Integration Experiences*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: RAND Europe, 2001.
- Vermeulen, Hans (editor). *Immigrant Policy for a Multicultural Society*. Brussels, Belgium: Migration Policy Group, 1997.
- Vertovec, Steven and Cohen, Robin (editors). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Walsh, John E. *The Case for Democracy as a Long Term National Strategy*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: US Army War College, 2007.

- Wazir, Burhan. *Inter-racial hatred pits local migrants against 'dirty' newcomers*. November 27, 2004. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article395980.ece> (accessed March 20, 2009).
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan (editor). *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Williams, Dr. Rowan. "BBC Interview - Radio 4 World at One." *Archbishop of Canterbury*. February 7, 2008. <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1573> (accessed February 10, 2009).
- . "Civil and Religious Law in England." *Archbishop of Canterbury*. February 7, 2008. <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1575> (accessed February 10, 2009).
- Yacoubian, Mona. *Engaging Islamists and Promoting Democracy: A Preliminary Assessment*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007.
- Yankelovich, Daniel. *New Rules, Searching for Self-Fulfillment in a World Turned Upside Down*. New York, New York: Random House, 1981.
- Yaphe, Judith S. *Islamic Radicalism: Shifting Approaches to Power But Not to Islamic Goals*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1997.
- Ye'or, Bat. *Eurabia: the Euro-Arab Axis*. Madison, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005.
- . *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*. Madison, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001.